



**Director of
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ISRAEL-LEBANON: Tightening Hold on Beirut

//Israeli forces advancing south of Beirut over the weekend apparently linked up with their Christian militia allies yesterday, allowing the two forces virtually to cut off the city. The Israelis and Palestinians engaged in heavy fighting yesterday, following the breakdown of a cease-fire arranged on Saturday. The Israeli-Syrian cease-fire is holding.// []

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//The Syrians remaining in Beirut are now isolated from units in eastern Lebanon. The Israelis claim that a Syrian commando battalion on Saturday moved into Beirut to join elements of an infantry brigade still stationed there.// []

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The Israelis are moving rapidly to ensure that they and their Christian allies acquire a dominant military position in the Beirut area prior to any talks about Lebanon's political future. For now, the Israelis are unlikely to launch major ground actions against Palestinian and Muslim militia strongholds in West Beirut.

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Lebanese Concerns

The Israeli push last night into the B'abda area may stifle whatever chance President Sarkis has to expand government control in West Beirut and reach an arrangement with the PLO that would allow the Lebanese Government to play a direct role in post-~~cease~~-fire negotiations. Sarkis, Abdu and leading Muslim figures are likely to interpret the Israeli advance on the presidential palace and on to Phalange territory as a sign that the Israelis have decided to install Jumayyil, who will deal firmly with the PLO, as head of the government. []

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Syrian Reinforcements

//Syrian reinforcement of the Bekaa Valley and the movement of the Assad Force to the border from its garrison near Damascus emphasize the importance President Assad attaches to the continued Syrian presence in Lebanon. These moves also illustrate the Syrian fear of an Israeli attack into Syria.//

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Senior PLO official Salah Khalaf said in an interview Friday that the USSR should have taken a more "radical" position in response to the Israeli invasion. Later in the day, Palestinian radio reported that Arafat had handed the Soviet Ambassador to Lebanon an "important letter, to President Brezhnev that included an expression of "pride and appreciation for the firm Soviet stand."

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Comment: The publicizing of Arafat's letter was apparently designed to counteract the effect of Khalaf's open criticism. Arafat, even if he shares these views, wants to avoid jeopardizing the PLO's relations with the USSR, the Palestinians' primary source of weapons.

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UK-ARGENTINA: Fighting for Stanley

//The battle for Stanley continued yesterday amid signs that the second phase of the British offensive will soon be under way.//

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//Forward elements of the British assault force and the Argentine garrison at Stanley yesterday skirmished and exchanged artillery fire in the Mounts Harriet and Two Sisters area some 10 kilometers west of the capital. Argentine aircraft--presumably locally based--attacked British positions.//

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//The British appear to have spent most of yesterday preparing for their next major push--and a possible counterattack--by moving up artillery and antiaircraft missiles. The Argentine military command announced its forces were "readjusting their defenses" after having admittedly lost ground to the British.//

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//British officials earlier maintained that their forces had completed the first phase of operations on Saturday and now hold the high ground south from Mount Longdon to Mount Harriet. The 4,000 Royal Marines and paratroopers who have spearheaded the advance across the island reportedly achieved their objectives by daybreak Saturday despite stiff resistance.//

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Defense Secretary Nott yesterday announced that 400 Argentines were taken prisoner. The British said that Argentine casualties were much higher. Nott has confirmed, however, that the cruiser Glamorgan was damaged by Argentine fire while shelling Stanley, and that although the cruiser remains operational nine crewmen were killed and 17 injured.

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Comment: //The second phase of the British thrust--which may already be under way--will probably aim at seizing Mounts William and Tumbledown and Sapper Hill,

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the last high ground before the capital. [REDACTED]

//The initial British attack against the Argentine garrison appears to have gone as smoothly as the British have claimed. So far, they have taken advantage of their tactical superiority, especially in night combat, to keep the Argentines off balance and their own casualties down. [REDACTED]

//The concentration of Argentine forces in defensive positions, however, will increasingly limit the combat options of the British and may force them to adopt a more costly direct assault for the final push. [REDACTED]

//Nonetheless, the isolation of the Argentines, the low morale and poor training of the conscripts who comprise well over half of the garrison, and critical supply shortages make it highly unlikely the Argentines will hold the Falklands capital. British troops are better equipped and trained and have established themselves as superior tacticians in their rapid advance across the island.// [REDACTED]

Although the Argentine Air Force has carried the burden of the fighting to date, its ability to support the defenders of Stanley is limited as evidenced by its low profile on Saturday. British Rapier surface-to-air missiles will make low-level attacks risky, and British Harriers can easily outmatch Argentine aircraft. [REDACTED]


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//Argentine aircraft probably will be most effective in additional strikes by the dwindling fighter force against British naval vessels. Argentine losses in such attacks, however, will probably be high.// 

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Civilian Safety Zones

According to press reports, the UK and Argentina have agreed to a Red Cross proposal to set up a two-block "safe area" in Stanley for the estimated 600 civilians still there. Earlier reports had indicated that the British were eager to have two Red Cross representatives enter Stanley to assess the civilians' plight. 

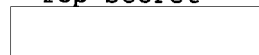
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Comment: //Argentine troops have mistreated islanders on several occasions, and the British clearly are concerned about their welfare. Moreover, the British military will want to know their location to avoid causing civilian casualties, as happened on Saturday when two were killed and four were wounded by British fire.// 



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SPAIN-NATO: Socialist Party Maneuvering

//Opposition Socialist Party leader Felipe Gonzalez continues to criticize NATO, although he still seems unlikely to take Spain out of the Alliance if he comes to power.//

//Gonzalez has introduced a motion for debate in parliament this week proposing that Spain delay working out details of its new membership in the Alliance until the UK guarantees the return of Gibraltar. He also has reiterated his intention to hold a referendum on Spanish membership in NATO if he comes to power.//

//The ruling Union of the Democratic Center believes that it can defeat the motion and wants to use the debate to underscore weaknesses in the Socialists' defense and foreign policies.

Comment: *//Gonzalez repeatedly has stopped short of an all-out effort to block entry into NATO. He now seems to be trying to throw a sop to his left wing while appeasing the conservative military. Although the military remains wary of Gonzalez, it could be attracted by a Socialist strategy designed to squeeze concessions from the Alliance in return for active Spanish participation--particularly if Gonzalez continues to focus on the return of Gibraltar.//*

//The Socialist leader intends to form a coalition with a centrist party if he wins the next election, and he might drop his promise of a referendum by citing the demands of his partner. Although Gonzalez probably would not pull Spain out of NATO, the lengthy negotiations on Spain's role in the Alliance are likely to be complicated by further Socialist efforts to exploit both leftist and nationalist sentiment.//

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ZIMBABWE: Violence Intensifies

The government reportedly is conducting extensive military actions, including paratroop operations, against former guerrillas of Joshua Nkomo's Zimbabwe African People's Union in the Matabeleland provinces. Despite official claims that dissident violence has been under control since Nkomo's ouster from the cabinet in February, the number of incidents has increased in recent weeks. Antigovernment forces are also carrying out more daring and carefully planned raids, including an ambush of government officials in northern Matabeleland and an attack on an armory near Mutare. [REDACTED]

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Comment: //Prime Minister Mugabe evidently has decided to move forcefully against the renegade ZAPU members despite the increased risk of clashes between Mugabe's and Nkomo's backers in the Army. Dissident violence has continued to grow despite Mugabe's attempt to co-opt ZAPU by appointing some of its officials to the cabinet in April; the government's military moves may mark an end to his reconciliation policy.// [REDACTED]

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MAURITIUS: Leftists Sweep Elections

The overwhelming victory of the Libyan- and Soviet-supported Mauritian Militant Movement in Friday's parliamentary elections prevented Prime Minister Ramgoolam's pro-Western Labor Party from taking any of the 62 contested seats. Labor may, however, receive several of the eight seats allotted under a "best loser" system. The Movement's more moderate Socialist Party allies won 18 seats, preventing the Movement from gaining on its own the three-fourths majority required to change the constitution. [REDACTED]

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Comment: The magnitude of their victory may tempt Movement leaders--who have called for an end to the US military presence on Diego Garcia and that island's return to Mauritius--to adopt even more strident anti-Western positions than they planned. The party also may decide to move more rapidly to implement a socialist economy. De facto leader Paul Berenger recognizes, however, that he must be cautious on both the domestic and foreign policy fronts to avoid jeopardizing economic ties with the West or engendering opposition from moderates in his group and in the Socialist Party. [REDACTED]

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SPECIAL ANALYSES

ARGENTINA-UK: Military and Political Outlook

//Argentina intends to continue the struggle over the Falklands in order to undercut domestic opponents, strengthen its claims in international forums, and force the UK back to the negotiating table. Argentine military options, however, appear limited.//

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//Any remaining Argentine troops on East Falkland and the estimated 2,000 on West Falkland will not be able to resist for long after Stanley falls. The Argentines can send large-scale reinforcements to the Falklands only by sea, but the Navy probably will keep its ships along the coast of the mainland rather than expose them to submarine and air attacks. The Navy's two coastal defense submarines have experienced chronic mechanical problems and also would be vulnerable to British ASW forces.//

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//The most promising Argentine military option would be to carry out selected air attacks, but even those would be difficult to sustain. The Air Force, which has already lost 40 percent of its firstline combat aircraft and many experienced pilots, has not been particularly effective in attacking ground targets.//

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//Although the Argentines could obtain additional Mirages and spare parts for Mirage and Canberra aircraft, a continued Western arms embargo would be a serious obstacle. Moreover, if the British were to remove the bulk of their fleet from the Falklands, there would be few major targets left to attack.//

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The British Response

//The British probably will, in fact, begin to withdraw ships as soon as the islands are retaken. They are likely to move quickly to consolidate their military position on the islands, in part by establishing small garrisons throughout the islands consisting of the 3,000 troops that they have said will remain behind.//

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//To strengthen their land-based air defense capabilities, the British probably will repair and expand the airfield at Stanley to permit the stationing and maintenance of frontline fighter aircraft. They also are likely to build a permanent radar facility and deploy surface-to-air missiles at various locations to counter possible airstrikes.//

//In addition, two or three attack submarines probably will be assigned to the area to protect against naval incursions. A few surface combatants and perhaps an amphibious ship also may be retained to provide additional air defense and gunfire support and to move troops and equipment around the islands to counter any commando raids.//

//The British garrisons will need to be resupplied periodically by naval convoys, which almost certainly will have aerial protection. If the Argentines should succeed in damaging ships in a convoy, the British might consider attacking Argentine airfields on the mainland. An improved airfield and fighter-bombers at Stanley would make this option militarily feasible, but there would still be considerable political pressure against exercising it.//

Costs to the Argentines

//In the short term, both the Argentine military and the public are likely to support the government's aggressive posture. Movement toward promised political liberalization and shifts in economic policy would buy the Galtieri regime additional time.//

//Over the long term, however, inconclusive military action would subject the junta to growing criticism from civilian and military leaders. Although the regime's hardcore backers in Latin America would continue to support an aggressive stance, moderate Latin American states probably would urge a return to negotiations and could begin to dissociate themselves from the Argentine position. Buenos Aires would also continue to push for an acceptable cease-fire and might try to reinvolve Washington in the negotiations as a way to put pressure on London to be more flexible.//

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Costs to the British

//There is a consensus in the British Government that substantial forces will have to remain on the Falklands for six months to a year, and, if necessary, Prime Minister Thatcher probably will leave them there for a longer period. This will require the British to maintain a costly and lengthy resupply line that almost certainly will drain resources that could otherwise be committed to NATO.//

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//Although the costs of a short-term holding operation are bearable, difficulties will begin to set in over time. In the UK, the glow of victory will be short lived and Thatcher will be under growing pressure from the opposition and even from some in her own party to return to the negotiating table. Public support for a protracted and costly residual military presence in the Falklands will be difficult to sustain.//

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//Thatcher's plan for developing the islands economically could prove expensive. Private investors may be leery of the islands' uncertain future.//

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//In addition, many politicians in the Labor Party and the Social Democratic - Liberal alliance will be loath to commit themselves to another situation similar to the one in Northern Ireland. Even Tory support would weaken if the Falklands came to be seen as an endless economic drain.//

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//Tensions could grow with London's allies, who will be anxious to repair their own relations with Latin America. The West Germans will become increasingly outspoken about the possible impact of continued operations in the Falklands on the UK's NATO commitments.//

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